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THE EAST & WEST REVIEW

An Anglican Missionary Quarterly

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An Anglican Missionary Quarterly

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THE CHURCH IN BURMA SINCE THE WAR

By THE RT. REV. THE BISHOP OF RANGOON*

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY

AT 4.20 on the morning of January 4th of this year in a quadrangle of the Secretariat, before representatives of many nations, a British officer hauled down the British flag.

The band was playing "God Save the King".

All eyes were fixed on the slow, inch by inch, descent of the flag.

This simple act at this strange hour, beneath the starry sky, had special significance.

To British in the Civil Service it was the signal that their regime was over, that the time had come to pack up and go home.

To the diplomatic representatives of Washington, Delhi, Bangkok, Nanking, the Hague and many another capital, it meant that their real job had begun.

To the President-elect, a Shan Chieftain, to the Karen Commander-in-Chief of the Forces; to the youthful Premier and his Cabinet; and, above all, to the ordinary Burman who had been looking forward to this hour for a quarter of a century, this was the moment of their lives. It was Freedom. It was the birth of their Nation. It was the dawn of the Union of the Republic of Burma.

To every one present it was also a moment in history.

Slowly another flag began to arise. The drama was continuing. This act, too, was to stir deep emotions, as had the other in British and Burmese alike. For one of the wonders of this hour was that what might have brought joy to one and chagrin to the other, actually seemed to make them both sharers each of the other's joy or sadness.

The band was now playing another tune. This time the Burmese National Anthem.

It was a dark, still night, with powerful lights illuminating the scene in the quadrangle and it was a little cool and clammy in the night air.

Why this hour for the great event?

Those men standing in a row in white robes and with tall crowns on their heads knew the answer. They were the famous astrologers from Manipur; and this, they had calculated was the propitious moment—4.20 a.m.

The days of jubilation that followed were happy and restrained. There was a great work of reconstruction to be done. The bodies of

* The Rt. Rev. G. A. West has been Bishop of Rangoon since 1935.

U Aung San and his murdered colleagues still lay in state in the Jubilee Hall.

Thakin Nu, the young Premier, and his Cabinet quickly got down to business. Right from the beginning there was conflict between different degrees of Leftist. And there were, or had been, private armies.

At home, the Burmese Government announced an ambitious programme of nationalization. Abroad, Burma began to take her place in the international world. A combination of exceptional circumstances gave me opportunities of seeing first-hand how she was doing. A representative of the Burmese Government invited me to tea when I was passing through Geneva. I was struck by his polished manners and courtesy and more than glad to learn that he was making a very good impression at the International Trade Conference. I called at the Burmese Embassy in Washington to find that here, too, young Burma was making its mark. In the Embassy in London I chanced to meet young Burmese athletes who had come to represent Burma at the Olympic Games.

Young Burmans, in the Elizabethan spirit, crossed the oceans and continents and imbibed all they could of the experience and culture of other countries. Were they a little overawed by America's gigantic wealth and industrial might—more than a little attracted by Yugoslavia, a newer, smaller, younger nation and her all-out effort to put her house in order? It was hard to judge; but Ambassadors, as well as students young and old alike, were taking the gay, free Burmese spirit out into a very grim world.

After eighteen months of independence, of reconstruction and planning at home and of new enterprise and experience abroad, the President of the Union of Burma was obliged to declare martial law to take effect through the whole of Burma.

The Premier's attempt to unite all Leftists in the national programme had failed. There was a party which did not want unity. It wanted confusion, strife and breakdowns. This party had already succeeded in obliging Government to acknowledge that a state of grave emergency existed. For considerable periods Mandalay had been cut off from Rangoon. Large areas of the country were in rebel hands. Prome, an ancient capital, fell to the rebels. Thayetmyo likewise. There was fighting in and round Pegu, fifty miles from Rangoon. There was a fight for the police station in the B.O.C. town of Syriam, across the river from Rangoon. There were desertions from the Army and Police Force. There was trouble in the Mawchi Mines. There was growing concern and alarm at the outcome of this growing disorder.

The Government retaliated energetically. The minorities proved loyal. The Kachins and Karens were the backbone of the Army. The Navy and Air Force also went into action. Premier Thakin Nu and his colleagues were giving of their best to the young Republic.

After a quarter of a century of struggle, Burma had gained her independence. After a few months of independence the Communists were making an all-out bid for power.

What of the Church in such a situation? How does it affect the Church? And how does the Church affect it?

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH

The two invasions and the Japanese occupation had left their mark both on the material and the personnel of the Church.

The Cathedral had been turned into a saki distillery to supply the Japanese armies.

The lovely little church by the lake at Meiktila had entirely disappeared. So at Prome and Myitkina, and wherever there had been heavy fighting, either there was no trace of the church or the church was now rubble.

At Pyinmana, and several small stations, the church was damaged beyond repair. In Maymyo, Moulmein, Mandalay—in Rangoon itself and other stations the Army helped to put the church to rights; while, at Toungoo, the Army was firing its guns from one compound and building a church in another.

The Diocese has built three new Churches since the end of the war.

The Diocese was hampered in its planning from the beginning by the chaotic state of its accounts. Their reconstruction was, in itself, a major operation. Records and registers had disappeared; sometimes also safes and Sacred Vessels. The Diocesan organization had long ceased to function. As the Army and Air Force withdrew the abnormal congregations shrank accordingly. Soon the I.C.S. and Government Services began to go too. Two years after the war the Church in Burma had become the Burmese Church. All the clergy, except for four missionaries and one Indian, were Karen and Burmese. The Church must have lost 5,000 of its best educated, wealthiest and most influential of its members. The remainder are now mainly nationals of Burma and most of these had suffered the rigours of the Japanese occupation. Some temporarily lapsed; some fell away. This is not surprising nor to be judged too hardly. What is surprising is the way in which the clergy as well as the ordinary Christians stood their ground and suffered, if not directly for their faith, at least because they shared the faith—and therefore presumably the friendship—of the British.

The clergy suffered most. John Hla Gyaw, the present Archdeacon of Rangoon and Bishop's Commissary, had been beaten as he hung suspended for a day from a rafter. His wife died while he was recovering in jail. Francis Ah Mya had been confined under conditions in which some died and few expected to survive. Tah Preh Paw was tortured and led out for execution but the sword never fell. Ma Pwa Sein and her companion school teachers were murdered by roughs. Every Christian was liable to be seized upon at any moment for examination, torture and imprisonment. Many were. The Church went through a terrifying ordeal. With what result? I believe that many of its members, at one time or another, had a real experience of Jesus Christ. In the agony of their sufferings they turned to Him and He met them at the point of their deepest need. He was with them, gave them fellowship one with another, patience under their sufferings and love for their persecutors.

Anglicans and Baptists, in prison together, found one consequence of their new experience of Christ to be a new unity with one another. They had discovered the great truth that union is the grace of rebirth and

this none but Christ can give and nothing but sin can take away. The Japanese guards marvelled at the way the Christians loved one another.

I have dwelt on this because this new experience of the saving grace of Jesus Christ is perhaps the most precious possession the Church has with which to find and carry out God's Design.

Losses in material, the breakdown of organization, the confusion of the times, the present and future perils—all these are as nothing compared with the experience, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." Jesus saves. God loves. The Spirit guides.

THE POLICY OF THE DIOCESE

Firstly, the ordinary material needs of clergy and people had to be met. My wife and I brought in with us cloth for cassocks and clothes. So did others. Army Chaplains helped with wine and wafers. A Buddhist friend brought some hymn books he had salvaged during the war. A registered air mail letter contained a 1923 copy of the Diocesan constitution. The Diocesan office began with an Indian clerk and a Sino-Burmese typist. After many months a pile of large-size registers for Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths arrived from Calcutta. Gifts of Church furnishings began to arrive from India and England.

These simple and rudimentary requirements took long to arrive and longer to reach the furthest village. But clergy and people, used to doing without things, waited patiently and accepted gladly.

The Standing Committee met. At last the Diocesan Council met. Their representatives attended the Council of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon at Madras. The Bishop attended Lambeth.

The Diocese could be said to have got going again.

But what was it all for? What was the Church out to do in independent Burma? What was its programme and its policy?

These are questions always easier to ask than to answer; but they are fair questions and are challenging questions which require a satisfying answer.

Clearly it was quite inadequate and unintelligent to think that all we had to do was to restart as many as we could of the Churches, Schools, Missions, Hospitals and Dispensaries that existed before the war.

We were living in a different world and a different Burma. The Church itself was different. The dangers, difficulties and opportunities were different. The tempo was different. The pace of ideas. The breakdown of old moulds of thought. The emergence of politics. The new forces at work. The collapse of morals on the one hand and the growth of selfless patriotism on the other—in the swiftly changing kaleidoscope what was the Church to do? Had it any place in the making of the nation?

The Diocese has tried to do three things:

(1) *Develop its leadership.*

The Bishop's first touch with the clergy after the war gave him much to think about.

After four years without salaries, none of the clergy either asked or

expected that his pay, whole or in party, would be made up to him. He was grateful for Rs.100 to help him meet immediate necessities.

The clergy were ready to accept new responsibilities. I appointed three of them Archdeacons to take charge of three newly created Archdeaconries. I appointed others to fill posts previously served by Government Chaplains and Missionaries. School-teachers were ready to work with or without salary and to get their own school going in damaged buildings, with poor equipment and many an obstacle. The capacity and resourcefulness of many of these clergy and teachers, their willingness to accept fresh responsibility, to handle difficult situations and to tackle all manner of problems, gave promise of a new quality of leadership.

Hla Gyaw, a Karen priest of a minority race with little of the background or advantages we assume to be necessary in the training of a priest, in a country of eighteen million, in days of rebellion and revolution, is acting as Bishop's Commissary, in a quietness and with a strength that has increased confidence in his leadership.

His appointment was received with feelings of gratitude mingled with apprehension. Gratitude grows as the apprehension diminishes.

So with Movin, a shy hill Karen, now chaplain of Moulmein, Burma's second town.

Taw Mwa, pioneer evangelist, a battle-scarred veteran of campaigning for souls in the jungles of Burma, sat with His Excellency the Governor at a party in Bishops court and gave him of his experience. U Aung San, the great Burmese leader, was so attracted by this intrepid Karen, that he invited him to Rangoon. Taw Mwa spoke, for the first time in his life, over a telephone and it was to Aung San, on the eve of his departure for England to negotiate Burma's future at 10, Downing Street.

So one after another began to grow in stature.

The thirty-year-old Aung Hla, first Archdeacon of Mandalay, has been acquitting himself as happily in England as has Hla Gyaw capably in Burma. The Bishop-Secretary of S.P.G., the Metropolitan of India, and others found him wise and intelligent in committee; while students and missionaries, in summer camps, observed the spirit and ability which had won the love of his people in Burma during the war.

Meanwhile, Daw Khin Khin, the first Burmese Principal of the Diocesan Girls' School, has won in Burma golden opinions for her capabilities and is now absorbing all her quick mind takes in as she visits Europe and America.

These and others, who in pre-war Burma would have served the Church faithfully and well in a subordinate capacity, are now proving that given the opportunity they can reach places where they can both lead and inspire the Church and so also affect national life.

(2) *Make, maintain and develop contact with national leaders.*

On January 4th of this year the Church in Burma transferred its civil allegiance from a Christian to a Buddhist Government. Buddhism rose with nationalism. It became the State religion and also began to be evangelistic.

The Church had to reorientate itself to this new condition.

The Bishop had been for long a personal friend of U Tin Tut, now the Foreign Minister, and had at times worked closely with him on national problems. U Aung San came frequently to Bishops Court and, with his wife, also became a personal friend. Thakin Nu, the present Premier, has been uniformly helpful. The whole Cabinet has displayed a generous and co-operative spirit. They made an unasked for grant of over Re. 50,000 to the Church to help to tide over the transition period.

Burmese and Karen clergy and laity have met many of these national leaders and are beginning to learn how to express their truth, wisely as well as courageously for the nation's good.

Three Cabinet Ministers have visited Kappali to see how the Christian spirit produces the real answer to basic problems. Kappali's aim is to live out the kind of Burma that anxious politicians and all true patriots are eager to see.

(3) To learn how to fight in the war of ideas.

Here the Church in Burma is in its infancy. We have been slow to realize what are the implications to missions, and indeed the whole church, of having to operate in an ideological world. We are not now contending so much with other great religions as with materialistic philosophies and with materialistic forces, that would liquidate all religions and control the thinking of men and women made to live for the state. We have to do more than acclimatize ourselves to living in the Ideological Age.

We need training in this new desperate warfare. We need to match an ideology with a philosophy, passion and a plan. We are beginning to learn that we must meet Dictatorship by ourselves living under the dictatorship of the Spirit and to see as an alternative to a change of system a change in the human heart. Materialists believe that their opponents must be liquidated. Christians believe that people can be changed. We too need strategy on a world front and it so happens that Burma is on a very lively sector of the front.

Ideological warfare is the new factor in every kind of situation all over the world.

I know that having said all the above in respect of our Diocesan policy, I have omitted what is common knowledge, if not always constantly remembered, God has His own ways and times of achieving his ends. Knowing that as we do, how often does it take us by surprise?

Car Nicobar, resistant to the Gospel for centuries, plagued and tortured by the Japanese, beyond help or succour from missionaries or other Europeans, unexpectedly presented to the Bishop on his first visit after the war a Church for dedication, three young men for the diaconate, 893 candidates for Confirmation and a whole island wide open to the Gospel.

God is always giving us Car Nicobars, though no two are ever alike—nor do they happen in the same way. They happen in His time and in His way. But they happen.

Burma since the war has seen almost everything, Independence, Revolution, Civil War, and behind it all may be discerned by the eye of faith God's unfolding plan and the leadership of his unfailing Holy Spirit.

MELANESIA

By THE RT. REV. THE BISHOP OF WHITBY*

NOT many months ago there appeared in the Press what eventually proved to be somewhat exaggerated and alarmist reports of the activities of a native Movement (Masinga Rule) in the British Solomon Islands which is the central archdeaconry of the Diocese of Melanesia—the other two being Southern Melanesia, consisting of the New Hebrides, the Banks and the Torres Islands which together also form the Condominium Government: and Northern Melanesia which comprises the islands of the so-called Mandated Territory of New Guinea.

Masinga Rule is a name of unknown origin. It is commonly spoken of as Marching Rule. It came into being in 1945 after the war in the South-west Pacific had ended. Our friends of the American Forces are discredited with its beginnings, but I think that idea to be untrue. Certainly the presence in the Solomon Islands of large numbers of American soldiers and sailors—very friendly with our people, talking freely with them in simple English of the customs and thought prevalent in the great big world outside the Islands which, owing to the war, had closed right in upon them—hastened the birth of the movement.

But its origins were further back and went far deeper.

As far as I understand it, the conception of British Colonial policy has for years been based upon “the affirmation of two principles—the fulfilment of the obligations of trusteeship: and the pursuit of a traditional policy of assisting dependent units of the Empire to attain self-government.”

The former of these two principles had not, in the years preceding the Pacific War, been very adequately implemented. Local administrators were not entirely to blame. There was little or nothing in the way of financial grants from Whitehall. Men on the spot were expected to “balance the Budget” and income from local taxation—import duties; export duty on copra and shell (almost the only products of the Islands); a native poll-tax, unequally levied and spasmodically collected was quite inadequate to meet the financial obligations of trusteeship. There were “District Services” which were only more or less effectively carried on if the authorities at home sent out a sufficient number of Cadets to man them—which they often did not. The transport provided for them to move from island to island was hopelessly inadequate and unreliable. Some islands were hardly visited at all during my episcopate of rather more than fourteen years. Medical work was done in one or two centres, but large areas were hardly touched. In the matter of Education little or nothing had been done and no subsidies were available for Mission Schools which, with very

* The Rt. Rev. W. H. Baddeley, D.S.O., M.C., was Bishop of Melanesia from 1932 to 1946.

limited resources, alone provided the young men needed for Government offices and for the Medical Service. And it was Mission Schools which prepared the peoples of the Islands for the great impact which came so suddenly upon us in the early months of 1942.

The second principle of Colonial policy, viz. the assistance of dependent units to attain self-government, had not been implemented at all. Lord Hailey in *A Colonial Charter* has declared that if the affirmation of this determination "encourages the hope that a unit, small in population and resources, can, standing by itself, expect to attain responsible self-government in the sense that the Dominions have attained it, then it is likely to prove illusory." It certainly is likely to be in so far as the Protectorates in the Pacific are concerned. The British Solomon Islands have a total population of less than 100,000; there has been hitherto little or no cohesion between the peoples of the different islands; and difficulties of communication will for years to come militate against any common action for the islands are poor and capable of development only to a very limited degree in the economic sphere. There are difficulties of language although pidgin English is a *lingua franca* among lads who have worked on plantations. The people are still a backward race, largely illiterate and retaining, generally speaking, a very primitive outlook.

Since the war the Administration has made efforts to establish Native District Councils and Courts, but there were few white officers of experience to assist in their operations and even those of us who have viewed these efforts with the most friendly and least critical eyes realize how far the Solomon people are from being able to govern themselves.

On the other hand, we of the Church have found it possible to go ahead with a Melanesian Ministry. Many of the best of our young men, after training in a Mission School and College (and, of late, in the case of some of them after a period of further training in a Theological College in Brisbane or Auckland) now hold positions of real responsibility within the Church and they have not failed her. Yet we realize full well that for years to come they will need the brotherly oversight of white priests and the stiffening which such will give. But, of course, there can be—and so often is—all the difference in the world between those who work from a sense of vocation and those who serve for the very large salaries which the Administration is prepared to give to those who are accepted for Government service. The gift of leadership is to be found in a large number of Solomon Islanders. I am not so sure that the will to follow is present in a large proportion of the body politic.

Yet Masinga Rule aims at the government of the islands by the peoples themselves. It is hostile to "whites" but not to the Church, and the new Bishop received the warmest of welcomes during his first episcopal visitation during the early months of this year. It thrives on a curious widespread "hope" in some quarters that the Americans (who are "whites," of course!) will return and take over the administration of the Solomons. When they came before they came as liberators and generous friends. Hence the hope that they will return—if white administration there must be—to replace the British Government

with its District Officers, its rules and regulations, its taxation (at the maximum £1 per adult male) and its inability to provide hospitals, schools, good wages and the other good things which a good Administration would readily provide!

Its leaders—for there are such, and one at least a man of real character who for years has exerted an excellent influence in his district—have been sent to imprisonment for long terms for their subversive activities. They are definitely not “inspired” from Moscow. Their activities are largely, I believe, the manifestation of growing pains. Many of them did a great work during the war years, and many of them were too often told that they were fine fellows! But they have heard much of the great world outside since their islands became a battlefield. They want to play a larger part in a bigger life. They are condemned as rebels now, but I have no doubt that these manifestations of their aims and aspirations—subversive and illegal as they have been declared—will hasten the day when, from funds now available for Colonial Development and Welfare, there will be given to these peoples in the south-west Pacific those social services which are their due—due not only from us who are trustees but to them because they are among the most needful in the Empire: due also, I would add, in return for their splendid record of loyal service during the dark days of 1942-44 of which the Colonial Office itself speaks so proudly in its official Report “Among those present.”

The war hastened rather than created the position in the Islands to-day. Already in pre-war days some of us were sensing a change that must come—a change from what one might call a “theocratic” regime to a “politico-democratic” one. For many years practically all that had been done in the way of cultural, educational and medical work had been done by the Missions of the several Churches. The people looked to the Church rather than to the Government for help and direction. It must have been particularly galling for a newly-arrived District Officer, visiting a district for the first time, to be told after he had carefully and painfully “laid down the law,” that “we talk along Bishop when he comes.” We realized that the day must come when the Administration—with resources made available from home—must make itself responsible for many of the services which had hitherto been “left to the Missions”—and that often without much encouragement. The transition was bound to be full of difficulties. The Solomon Islands are thousands of miles from Whitehall. They are a part of the Commission for the Western Pacific and only a secondary care of the Governor of Fiji who is also High Commissioner of this Commission. The constant change in Governorship—there have been five Governors in the past fifteen years and a sixth has just taken over—mitigates against any continuity of policy. Reference to ecclesiastical superiors at home by the Head of a Mission of local serious difficulties is regarded as “not playing the game” and there is a quite justified fear among Mission leaders that their past work, present commitments and future hopes may be completely disregarded by newly-arrived administrative officers with little or no knowledge of the Solomon Islander, his needs and his hopes. Hitherto there have been few signs—except during the

period of one Governorship—of any willingness to co-operate with (let alone to work through) those Mission institutions which have for years undertaken “social services” as an essential part of the presentation of the Gospel.

Maybe the publicity which has been given to the Solomons through the activities of Masinga Rule will hasten the day of better things.

But the Solomons are not the whole of Melanesia and Melanesia is not just “problems”—or “situations” as the Americans would say. My memories of Melanesia will chiefly be of a diocese where the Church is very essentially a part of Christ’s Church militant here in earth—where the Church is going forward conquering and to conquer. I look back over the history of the Church in the south-west Pacific during the past hundred years (the diocese of Melanesia keeps her Centenary in 1949) and I see again the work of men who have turned the world upside down and have come hither also. One hundred years ago the peoples of Melanesia were “fierce and treacherous, head-hunters given to cannibalism” as one of the English daily newspapers described them as still being in August, 1942, when news of the landing of the U.S. Marines in the Solomons was released to the public. “They found the Church there” tells in their own words the reactions of men of the American, New Zealand and Australian forces who came to the islands to fight the Japanese. They tell of their surprise, their joy, their admiration when they found these simple Christian folk, worshipping morning and evening in their little village churches, “given to hospitality,” capable of great feats of courage and endurance and not given to “counting the cost.” Allied commanders were amazed at the Intelligence work of many a Solomon Island lad. Allied doctors rubbed their eyes in wonder when they saw the work of Melanesian Native Medical Practitioners. (I shall never forget the raptures of one of them who had arrived too late to answer an urgent call to a village when he found that a Melanesian lad had most successfully completed a Cæsarean operation.)

There have been great changes “whereof we rejoice,” but there is much still to be done. These simple folk, this child race or infant people (call them what you will) are capable of great things. Their skins may be dark brown or black, but they are made in the image of God, and there is no limit to the development which may take place among them. What they need—and that for which there is an inner striving—is opportunity and the ready co-operation of white men of experience and with vocation to enable them to live a fuller life under the new conditions which are coming into being in the islands. The days are now past when a super-imposed white administration can best meet the needs of these peoples. They can be led—the history of the Church shows that: they cannot be, nor is it fair that they should be, “druv.”

Bishop Selwyn spoke of the Melanesian Mission as a great net cast into the waters of the south-west Pacific. At first it would be held up by big white corks—the white Bishop, the white priests and other white workers. In between these big white corks, more and more as time went on, small black corks would take their places to supplement

the work of the bigger white ones. These would be the Melanesian village teachers, hospital orderlies, and so on. Then the time would come when the big white corks would be increasingly displaced by big black ones—Meslanesian priests and doctors and teachers and nurses. There are now many big black corks, for there are some seventy-five Meslanesians exercising the Ministry of the Work and Sacraments: many others are giving faithful service in our higher-grade schools, and many others exercise the Ministry of Healing in hospitals in district dispensaries and in many an island village. For years to come, big white corks will still be needed—chiefly, I think, to train those Melanesians who, by being trained to serve their own people, will be their real leaders. For this work we need the best. The days are past when it is sufficient to be merely “of goodwill.” Melanesia needs to-day men and women, thoroughly trained in their own particular branch of service, who will come out to work with and through our own young Meslanesian men and women. The great and urgent need is for more and more well-trained specialists (with a real sense of vocation and a love of their fellow-men, no matter what his colour or tongue) to train our young Melanesians and so indirectly but very definitely guide and assist the development of our Melanesian people. I doubt if the Church at home is as yet alive to the urgency of the situation and the clamant call to send her best to this work.

The Christian Mission to Asians (Uganda)

There are 175,000 Indians in Uganda who are served by one elderly Evangelist. A little missionary society has been formed called The Christian Mission to Asians (Uganda), with the avowed purpose of tackling this huge task of evangelising the Asian population of Uganda. The Committee is under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Uganda and the Archdeacon is a member. Others include the European chaplain of Kampala and his African curate; a business man in Kampala; a Government official; an African chief and four doctors, Government and mission; for the impetus of this task has largely started from a sense of the need of the many Indian patients attending hospital. In fact the largest financial contribution to the mission has been the promise from Mengo Hospital of five per cent of the receipts from Indian fees paid to the hospital.

Uganda Church Review,

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THE AFRICAN ADVENTURE

By H. A. E. SAWYERR*

WHAT I think is going to be a critical problem for all of us lies in our political life. We all know how national consciousness has grown in recent years. I, for my part, rejoice to see our people growing towards a race consciousness. You will all agree with me here that that is one of the direct outcomes of Christian Education, especially Protestant Christian thinking, and we Christians—especially African Christians—must not stand apart when the rest of our people make good claims for a greater share in the conduct of their affairs.

But—and this is the problem—it is at the very point when the Christian emphasis on individual responsibility is taking political shape that our greatest problem confronts us. Several complicated factors emerge here.

First of all our Government have consistently decried the educated Africans with the specious excuse that they are either in the minority or are simply ambitious to secure a position of advantage over the uneducated masses. Even recently Lord Milverton in a letter to *The Times* draws a line between the “voracious few” who are demanding self-government and the “inarticulate masses” who still look for protection from British Government officials. We Africans think such argument is one long series of fallacies. No country, not even England, can boast of 100 per cent. education at the inception of self-government. As a result the educated African is estranged because he is consistently neglected or persistently discriminated against as a trouble maker. Even they call us spoilt. Secondly, because we are not consulted (as a people) when laws are made or plans said to be for our benefit are mooted, we are subject to unpleasant legislation which we often feel compelled to oppose in order to ensure a measure of democratic freedom as we have come to know it, and often we have to contend hard to get an effective hearing. You may ask what has all this to do with the work of the Church. My answer is two-fold.

First, there is the danger of extreme nationalists getting to the point where they abominate everything foreign, to the extent that even Christianity as a religion brought from England might go under the ban. Secondly, we find that to get effective opposition against any unsatisfactory legislation, Christians, Moslems and pagans now lay aside their religious differences and work as a single community to secure effective representation. Do you see the implications? Effective evangelism has to be planned in a new way, which has yet to be discovered. We are fast approaching the state of things here in England where a Christian votes for a man, irrespective of his own religion, and Party politics are not by any means determined by religious beliefs.

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The Christian priest who tries to convert the atheist or leopard or casual Christian in his parish, is at the same time on the same political footing as any of them, if they belong to the same party. We are thus in a new stage when our civic development might cause strain on our work of evangelism unless we devise new weapons of attack.

Besides, there is another factor in pagan life to-day which was unknown fifty years ago. Then the pagan believed in his many petty deities and cults which he was able to give up when he saw a new better way of life which belied the primitive beliefs. But with industrialization—with the increasing use of machinery on farms and mines, with the sight of the aeroplane and more so with the experience of so many men who have returned from the Army and Navy—material secularism has become, or tends to become, almost an obsession, and the things of the spirit are left on the shelf. Education is no longer the monopoly of the Christian bodies; indeed, so high are some of the latest government requirements that with Bishop Gelsthorpe I make bold to say that a bad mission school is a drawback to the work of the Church. When you add to all I have said above the increasing emphasis on higher wages which is in itself a great desideratum in Africa, you will see the immensity of the tasks before us.

We need highly-trained clergy and lay-workers to cope with the new situations. We need more money to attract the best men into the Service of the Church. We need English missionaries who will go out to our schools and colleges to help with the training of men and women for various jobs. We need to keep open a Fourah Bay College with a long Christian tradition to provide first-class facilities for the higher education of the men and women who will go into the secular world and into politics in particular, but with a Christian background to their education.

The staff of our Union College at Bunumba in Sierra Leone, a College which trains teachers, recently experimented on a scheme to get the people of a near-by village to arrange for co-operative marketing of their crops. The scheme was not only popular but proved a success. A teacher in the American mission in Sierra Leone got a handful of people in another village to organize co-operative marketing of ginger, and that too was a great success. Kenneth Prior in Nigeria has achieved much success by teaching Christian farmers how to tend their trees and run their farms. What does all this mean? Well, all these jobs can be done by Government officials, but some of us have found that the educated African who is also a Christian and is reliable, has much better opportunities for helping his illiterate fellow countryman because of the more personal touch which Christianity adds to his approach to people. This means that one of the new policies the Church has to work out in the future is to provide streams of men who can express their missionary activities along practical lines like farming. For that we also need staff and money.

We who are living in this age are somewhat recapitulating the situation of the first year of C.M.S. In 1790 the Sierra Leone Trading Company was formed under Granville Sharp and Henry Thornton, as directors, "to establish trade with Africa on the true Principles of

Commerce, carrying out British manufactures and other articles of Traffick, and bringing back African produce in Exchange." The world was by no means in a state of calm. Europe was torn asunder by the effects of the French Revolution. Proletariat thought crystallized itself in Rousseau's *Emile* which taught a doctrine of man unknown in the Bible, viz. : Man is born good. Everywhere there was a growing belief that all men were born equal. In England the scars of deism were manifest in the general trend of thought, whilst the Romantic movement tended to direct men's thoughts to the contemplation of Nature. It was in this setting that John Venn and Henry Thornton and others felt called by God to found the C.M.S.

We to-day are feeling the effects of two world wars within twenty-five years with the accompanying disruption of social life in its various phases. We are threatened by the menace of Communism, whilst the world suffers from poverty and want. And yet it is in this very unsettled state of life that H.M. Government has launched the Colonial Development Company to develop the Colonies, and the resources of Africa in particular. Whilst it is true that the prime motive of the development of Africa's resources is to ease the fat problems of the English house-wife, it is equally true that the Government is anxious to benefit the poorer Africans by helping them to secure a higher standard of living. There are schemes for increasing our educational facilities which, if rightly implemented, will give us untold benefits. No doubt you will agree that all these developments will leave the work of the Church behind if we are not alert and on the spot. Is the spirit of Henry Thornton dead? Are there no Granville Sharpes among us, or Fowell Buxtons? Where is John Venn and his principles of policy? In 1837 Buxton said: "The deliverance of Africa is to be effected by calling out her resources. It is the Bible and the Plough that must regenerate Africa." In 1947 the Colonial Secretary announced that a huge ground-nut farm was to be laid out in East Africa, and other similar farms laid out in other parts. He has given us a modern version of Buxton's Plough recipe. What about the Bible? I hope English Christians will subscribe heavily to that cause.

This brings me to my last point. I have great trepidation in making it because I cannot claim long enough years in the ministry to support my argument. It is this. I feel, and have done so for long, that one of the weaknesses in the past in our C.M.S. churches is a lack of real sense of worshipping among our peoples. In spite of the regular attendances at church, in spite of the regular devotion which shows itself in family prayers in most Christian homes, there is an unhealthy hiatus between worship and everyday life. We have not been taught to feel the presence of God with us in every aspect of our life. We have not learnt that we must pray hard when we pray so as to work equally hard when we work. This is not universally true, but I think it is largely so.

My explanation for which I take sole responsibility, is that ordinary life among pagan Africans is highly ritualistic. Every sphere is. Initiation ceremonies are most elaborate. The various cults to which pagans belong are very ritualistic. But when they have been converted into

Christianity we give them a dry kind of religion in which abstinence is given first priority. Even the Sacraments look like ordinary commonplace activities denuded largely of any sense of the mysterious. The result is that many otherwise good Christians crave unavailingly for a sense of the supernatural in Christianity. Are we surprised, then, that many lapse into heathen practices when they are in difficulties? You see, they know of an omnipotent God—however rudimentary or even perverted that notion may be and, in my humble opinion, we are not able to transfer their loyalties to the God of Jesus Christ unless we can transfer their emotional attitudes as well.

I know the obvious answer many of my missionary friends here will give. They will be inclined to say employ more African songs, and adopt African postures of worship. Some extreme person might even say work out an African form of worship and leave the Prayer Book alone. If any of you do think thus, my reply is that that solution is only superficial. Africans themselves, once converted, hate the old pagan tunes and pagan ritual, as elements belonging to their past. I believe the time will come when we will evolve out our own ritual. But that will be done by African Christians themselves. For myself I don't care whether a piece of music is from Bach or Strauss or a Negro Spiritual, or a modern African melody. But I do know that the points I have made above are fully supported by leading psychological ideas on Transfer of Training.

Let me say that I am not advocating anything which cuts across C.M.S. principles in case anybody is feeling uncomfortable. What I believe we must all enquire into is how best to make our worship life rich enough to go below the healthy heartiness which we as a people are proud of.

I hope you are able to see the tremendous odds that are ahead of us. We must, however, not allow our enthusiasm to flag. We must hand down to our children this great heritage which our fathers have passed on to us. You here in England must uphold our hands in Africa by volunteering to go out and work side by side with us, or subscribing more generously to the C.M.S. funds so that they may expand their work and not cut down their programme. You know they want £200,000 this year more than last year.

We in Africa, on the other hand, will continue to maintain the already high standard we have attained, and strive to improve the situation still more. We want your help, but we also want your prayers. God grant that the coming years of progress of Christianity in Africa would be such that paganism would be reduced to a bare minimum and Islam would cease to be a menace. God grant that the present isolation between the various Anglican dioceses on the West Coast may be broken down, and a strong feeling of fellowship between Christians from all parts be created. God grant that British missionaries and African Christians, particularly the clergy, may learn to work in complete collaboration, to the praise and glory of His Holy Name.

God grant that Christians all the world over may so live that they may be inspired the one by the other as wrestlers together, with the faith of the Gospel.

THE S.P.G. AND THE LUTHERAN MISSIONARIES IN SOUTH INDIA

By H. P. THOMPSON*

THE foundation of the S.P.G. prompted King Frederick of Denmark to undertake missionary work in his colony at Tranquebar in South India, and in 1706 he sent out Siegenbalg and Plutscho, Lutherans from the Halle seminary—the first Protestant missionaries to India. Relations between England and Denmark were then very close; and the first report of these missionaries (who had been ill received by the authorities at Tranquebar) was translated into English, dedicated to the S.P.G., and distributed by it in England.

This appeal for English help was met by donations from members of the S.P.G., but the Society itself was restrained from giving support by its Charter, which empowered it only to send “an orthodox clergy” to “the King’s Plantacons, Colonies and Factories beyond the seas”: both requirements ruled out Lutherans in Tranquebar. But the S.P.C.K., as a voluntary Society, under no Charter, was free to do what it wished, and so took up work which, over more than 100 years, by the labours of such great men as Schultz, the Kohlhoffs, Schwartz and Gerické, spread out to Madras, Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Tinnevely, and planted Christianity firmly over a wide area in South India.

The attention of the S.P.G. was next directed to India in 1818, when, the Bishopric of Calcutta having at last been created, Archbishop Sutton pressed India’s needs upon it. The C.M.S. had already entered northern India; new life was stirring in the S.P.G.; and this became the occasion for it to make a great appeal for the foundation of Bishop’s College, Calcutta, for which a Royal Letter was issued, and a great sum raised with the aid of C.M.S. and S.P.C.K. The S.P.G. sent out its first Principal and a Professor in 1820, and two missionary clergy followed in 1823. The C.M.S. had sent out its first missionaries in 1814: two were in Anglican orders; two, Rhenius and Schnarre, Lutherans from Jaenicke’s Seminary in Berlin; so hard was it to find English clergy for missionary service that the C.M.S., like the S.P.C.K., had at first to employ a number of Lutherans. The S.P.C.K. had felt uneasy over this procedure: in 1791 it declared, “We ought to have suffragan Bishops in the country, who might ordain Deacons and Priests, and secure a regular succession of truly Apostolic Pastors, even if all communications with their parent Church should be annihilated.”—(CALDWELL: *History of the Tinnevely Mission*, p. 27.)

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Bishop T. F. Middleton, appointed Bishop of Calcutta, in 1814, thus had three types of clergy under him: the East India Co.'s Chaplains; a small number of C.M.S. missionaries in Anglican orders; and a larger group in Lutheran orders employed by the S.P.C.K. and C.M.S., with some Indian native "village priests" ordained by them.

As a keen supporter of S.P.C.K., Middleton must have approved its policy in employing Lutherans, and had himself delivered the charge to one of them—Mr. Jacobi, in 1813. As Bishop, he felt himself restricted by the legal terms of his own Letters Patent, which he interpreted as giving him no jurisdiction to license missionaries or ordain Indians: he felt too that if he were to license for ministry to Europeans missionaries sent out by Societies, he would be relieving the East India Company of the responsibility for providing the Church's ministry which ought to lie upon it.* Strictly speaking, he ought to have prohibited missionaries from serving English congregations, but he did not press his logic so far. Yet their position remained anomalous, and the Lutherans were in some degree restricted in their ministry, as appears below.

Bishop Heber, who succeeded Middleton in 1825, felt none of his predecessor's scruples in regard to jurisdiction; but expressed plainly to the S.P.C.K. his disquiet over the employment of Lutherans and his hope "that the Society will supply us with episcopally ordained clergymen." He thought highly of them personally. "Still" (he wrote), "there is a difference between them and us, in matters of discipline and external forms, which often meets the eye of the natives, and produces an unfavourable effect upon them. They are perplexed what character to assign to ministers of the Gospel, whom we support and send forth to them, while we do not admit them into our Churches. And so much of influence and authority, which the Church of England is gradually acquiring with the Christians of different oriental stocks (the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians) arises from our recognition of, and adherence to, the apostolic institution of Episcopacy, that it is greatly to be desired that all who are brought forward under our auspices in these countries should, in this respect, agree with us. A strong perception of these inconveniences has induced three of the Lutheran Missionaries employed in Bengal by the Church Missionary Society to apply to me for re-ordination according to the rites of the Church of England, and I had much satisfaction in admitting them to Deacon's Orders."—(*Monthly Record*, 1854, pp. 57-8.)

Further evidence of Heber's feelings comes in the long report of the Rev. Thomas Robinson, his Chaplain (soon to become Archdeacon of Madras), sent to the S.P.C.K. after Heber's sudden death at Trichinopoly.

"The Bishop," he wrote, "frequently saw occasion to lament that the Society's Missionaries were not Englishmen of our own Church, or at least, if it were found necessary to employ Foreigners, that they should not have received Episcopal ordination. He repeatedly mentioned to me his purpose of making a strong representation on this subject to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and every step

* Chatterton: *History of the Church of England in India*, p. 127.

he took strengthened his conviction of its importance. It was on two reasons, chiefly, that he grounded his opinions, the superior advantages Episcopally-ordained Englishmen would enjoy in their intercourse with their own Countrymen, in their several stations, and the more perfect unity of action by the subordination of all to the same spiritual authority. . . .

"The great question of unity was less prominent in the infancy of our Church in this country, but it cannot for a moment be neglected, without serious inconvenience and loss, now that the control of our Ecclesiastical authority is extended to every province, and the beauty of its order is observed by all. The inconvenience has been felt in several instances by the late Bishop, in the course of his visitation, and I remember to have heard the same observation from his excellent Predecessor, Bishop Middleton."—(MSS. Madras, C. India, II. 4.)

It was at the time of Heber's appointment that the S.P.C.K. invited the S.P.G. to take over the management of their Indian Missions. The proposal was that the S.P.C.K. "do continue to maintain the Missionaries now employed by it in the South of India during the remainder of their lives and that the management and superintendence of the Missions be transferred to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel."

The S.P.G. accepted the proposal. Bishop Heber, visiting all the South India Missions on the tour which ended with his death, planned an S.P.G. Committee in Madras to take over administration from that of the S.P.C.K., and it was constituted directly afterwards. In its 1829 Report the S.P.G. gave a long history of the S.P.C.K.'s Missions, and made clear its own intentions.

"The circumstances under which the English Mission was first formed, and for more than a century continued, naturally occasioned the appointment of divines from Germany and the North of Europe; but those circumstances have ceased to exist. The discipline of the Lutheran Church, to which most of the early missionaries belong, is inconsistent with the system which must regulate a body of clergy, acting under a Bishop of the Church of England. The Missions have been transferred from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to that for the Propagation of the Gospel, which being a chartered Society, under the presidency of the Primate, its Missionaries are in fact the Missionaries of the Church of England, not of any voluntary association, and a degree of national countenance is thus afforded them which they never could obtain under the former system; but it is essential to the efficiency of the new system, that Clergy in the Orders of the Church of England should be sent to the Indian stations."

Such was the mind of the Society when it accepted responsibility in South India.

The stations and missionaries taken over from the S.P.C.K. were these :

Tanjore.—Rev. J. C. Kohlhoff and Rev. J. C. P. Sperschneider.

Madras.—(Vepery.) Rev. Dr. Rottler and Rev. J. L. Haubroe.

Cuddalore.—Rev. D. Rosen.

Bishop Heber also, seeing the urgent need for a European missionary at *Trichinopoly*, proposed that the Rev. H. D. Schreyvogel should move

there from Tranquebar, "if found practicable." Leave was apparently given by the Danish authorities there, and in 1826 he took up duty at Trichinopoly, where he gave excellent service till his death in 1840, as a missionary of the S.P.G. (This list differs from that given by C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, p. 503, which is correct for a later date, c 1828.)

Of these men, Sperschneider never came upon the S.P.G. list. He had been spending funds carelessly upon rebuilding Schwartz's house for his own residence, and was dismissed. Kohlhoff, Rottler, Haubroe and Rosen were paid by the S.P.C.K. at least up to 1832: thereafter no clear indication is given. The S.P.G. took over responsibility for their work, and that of six native teachers, who were not however paid out of its funds. Schreyvogel was throughout on the Society's list, as were the Rev. J. L. Irion, added in 1828, and the Rev. P. M. D. Wissing, sent out in 1828.

None of these received Anglican orders, except the Rev. J. L. Irion. A Lutheran, serving the Netherlands Missionary Society, he was taken over by the S.P.G. on the condition that he must be "episcopally ordained, or willing to be." The opportunity only came on Bishop Wilson's visitation tour in 1834, when he "applied to me for Episcopal orders, and received them at Tanjore and Vepery."—(Bishop Wilson's letter: S.P.G. Report, 1835, p. 40.) The Rev. A. Penny in his great *History of the Church in Madras* notes a statement by Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, that Schreyvogel "joined the English Church by re-ordination in 1826," but can find no confirmation of the statement, and believes it a mistake.

Of the others, Dr. Rottler, a veteran of seventy-six, worked on in Vepery, largely upon translation work, and died in 1836.

The Rev. J. C. Kohlhoff, great son of a great father, was already sixty-four: he lived on, in charge at Tanjore, to die in 1844, full of years and honour. It is to be noted that his son, C. S. Kohlhoff, went to Bishop's College for training and received Anglican ordination in 1839.

The Rev. L. P. Haubroe moved from Madras to Tanjore in 1827, and died there in 1830.

The Rev. D. Rosen, an impulsive man, was placed at Palamcotta in 1829, but suddenly went off with a Danish expedition upon an attempt to colonise the Nicobar Isles. He returned, almost the only survivor, in 1834, and on Bishop Wilson's recommendation was placed by the S.P.G. at Mudalur. Four years later he retired on a sick allowance.

The Rev. P. M. D. Wissing, was the only minister in non-Anglican orders whom the S.P.G. accepted and sent out to India. He was ordained by the Danish Bishop of Zealand, accepted in 1827, and reached Madras in 1828. Invited by Archdeacon Robinson to take oaths of canonical obedience and receive the licence of the Bishop of Calcutta, he refused, apparently on the ground that it would prejudice his status with his own Church at home. But he never put his objections in writing, and after a final discourteous refusal was inhibited from performing "any clerical duty in any church or chapel within the Archdeaconry." He moved to Vellors, and returned home sick in 1830.

No other non-Anglican clergy were sent out by the S.P.G. to India. When offered an endowment fund by Dr. Niemayer of Halle, the Society accepted it (in 1835) on the understanding that Germans could be found "willing to apply for ordination to the Bishops of the Church of England." Two such men, Goldstein and Schmitz, who volunteered in 1837, were sent out as laymen and in due course ordained at Madras.

What conclusions may rightly be drawn from this record? It is fair to point out that the S.P.G. had observed clear principles in its eighty years' administration of work in the American Colonies, where groups of European Protestant settlers often claimed its attention. The Society then never accepted as missionaries on its list any clergy without Anglican orders: it procured the Anglican ordination of several Swiss or German ministers, as a condition of employing them. It made an occasional compassionate grant of £20 or £30 to a non-Anglican minister; it employed one Moravian, the heroic C. F. Post, as a "catechist." But the broad principle was clear: Anglican orders were a necessary qualification; its duty was to provide an "orthodox clergy."

When asked to take over responsibility for the S.P.C.K. missions in South India, it was not (at least at the outset) required to take the existing Lutheran missionaries on to its own pay-list. But there was no one to replace them; and their work, highly commended by the Bishop of Calcutta, must at all costs be maintained. The Society accepted them, without relaxing its own determination that the Church of England must be represented by men in Anglican orders. Its acceptance of Mr. Wissing is the only act inconsistent with this, and was doubtless due to the pressing need to reinforce the staff in South India. Thereafter the possession of Anglican orders was the essential qualification in India, as it had always been elsewhere. The Society was not indifferent or complaisant; it was forced by circumstances temporarily to make exceptions to its rule.

The Churches and the Gold Coast Disturbances

During the evenings of Holy Week we held United Services in the Methodist, the Presbyterian and the Anglican churches. Some murmured: but I am certain we were right. If Christians cannot pray and worship together when "the heathen furiously rage together and the people imagine a vain thing," our religion is not likely to be "a very present help in time of trouble," to ourselves, or to our neighbours, or to our country. At least, so it seemed to many of us here in the Mission Field, at a time when all who loved our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity instinctively drew close to one another. Even the Roman Catholics, although they could not worship with us, signed a manifesto drawn up by the Heads of all the Missions, along with leading members of the Denominations. In these United Services the Churches were thronged: great crowds stood outside and joined in hymns and prayers.

(From the Bishop of Accra's letter in "The Golden Shore," July, 1948.)

CHRISTIANITY: ITS ACHIEVEMENTS IN INDIA

By CHUNI MUKERJI*

THE history of Christianity during the past two thousand years is a marvel of moral enterprise. At its inception it took the world by surprise and, though of humble origin, defied the fortified forces of the time. Its Founder was a Galilean peasant, and His disciples were not drawn from the upper ten of society. Yet it made its power felt, and the Gamaliels of the day never looked upon it with unsuspecting eye. Christianity was born as a prodigy; it held its course amid untold hindrances. In India its achievements during the past two hundred years have been truly significant, and it is my intention to narrate them as briefly as possible. I shall not be occupied with the sort of achievements which manifestly arose out of its medical, educational and other humanitarian adventures, since they are known to everybody. My business would be to recount those silent, unobtrusive transformations which the Christian agency has wrought in India. These transformations are of a moral or intellectual character and are, therefore, interesting to a degree.

In 1772 was born a great Indian, the Raja Rammohun Roy, Raja being his title. Up to his sixteenth year he received an Arabic and Persian education. So notable were his attainments in these two languages that his fame as an Arabic scholar spread throughout the country. And the study of Islam converted him into a sworn enemy of Hindu idolatry. He wrote a small book in Persian when he was sixteen, and it was a direct onslaught on the current Hindu system of worship. The young Rammohun was consequently disowned by his parents. This remarkable man became, in course of time, well versed in several other languages, including Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Sanskrit, Hindi and English. Christianity appeared to him equipped with unique credentials, and he gave expression to his changed mental outlook in the following words:

The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles and better adapted for the use of rational beings than any others which have come to my knowledge, and have also found Hindus in general more superstitious and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites and in their domestic concerns than the rest of the known nations on the earth.

In 1820 he brought out a compilation of the utterances of Jesus called *The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness*. In the Preface he makes the following remarks:

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"This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinctions of caste, rank or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over Nature, and it is so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form."

But, in spite of such outspoken confession of Christianity, the Raja never embraced the orthodox Christian faith, the doctrine of the Trinity being his chief stumbling-block. He displayed a marvellous knowledge of Christian literature, including the Greek and Latin Fathers, in his *Third Appeal to the Christian public*. But how profoundly he was impressed by the superior ethical aspects of Christianity may be gathered from two very interesting books by two English women of culture and education, I mean, *The Life of Raja Rammobun Roy*, by Sophia Dobson Collett, and *The Last Days of Raja Rammobun Roy*, by Mary Carpenter. However, it may be safely asserted that, with the dissemination of Western culture, came into existence an important epoch in the national life of the Hindus, heralded by the Raja. The Hindu system, which had adhered to rigid rules of orthodoxy, was now suddenly confronted with an aggressive inundation of foreign thought. New conceptions, moral and intellectual, dawned upon the Hindu mind which mounted, as a consequence, into the joys of vision. In short, the glorious continent of Europe, with its unbounded legacies of bold speculation, burst upon the astonished gaze of the Hindu, and the period of inveterate darkness—which had held sway for centuries—stood aghast, with fears of its own subversion.

The indirect achievements or influences of the Christian religion in the vast peninsula of India are of a truly colossal character. But of all Indian provinces Bengal was the first which accorded Western education a most hearty welcome and was, so to say, galvanized into new experience. The effects of this new pulsation of life permeated the respectable sections of society in a manner unexampled in its history. This was, indeed, an awakening which, though mainly confined to them, did not leave the masses untouched. The stirrings of a new consciousness reached down to them, and they were amazed. I wonder whether they consciously participated in the joy which accrued to the upper ten from the recent dissemination of new ideas. The Indian masses had always been debarred from the precious boons of education, but the New Learning, which came from the West, reacted upon them in a singular manner. As years passed on intellectual life in Bengal was intensified to such a degree that all ancient legacies, all dearly cultivated opinions fell beneath the icy grasp of scepticism. In this new drama of national life an Englishman of wide culture and a Eurasian (the Eurasians are now called Anglo-Indians) of audacious speculation played very important parts. Captain Richardson was a man of finished literary taste, and De Rozio was a young Eurasian of bold thought. Contact with Richardson inflamed the Bengali youth with an ardent passion for four great British poets—Shakespeare, Milton, Byron and

Shelley. But no conscious political conceptions established sway over their susceptible minds. The sweet, exuberant language of the British poets operated like a joyous intoxication ; its unmatched felicities proved an absorbing passion. De Rozio was endowed with a rich poetic vein, and his awakened mind disputed the validity of received opinions, social and religious. Bengal was confronted with a new intellectual era of considerable consequence. It was, indeed, nothing short of a renaissance. England became a sort of spiritual home to the rising generation ; for it was principally the ideas of English literature which dominated the Hindu consciousness. Numbers of young people attained wonderful proficiency in the English language, and a tremendous wave of anglicization swept over the land. In fullness of time Mill, Macaulay and the sagacious Edmund Burke exerted an unprecedented sovereignty of ideas, and so was ushered the dawn of political aspirations in India, not in Bengal alone. This was, indeed, an entrancing chapter in our national life.

But in Bengal the indigenous literature at this time gained a great impetus, and Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Michael Modhusudan Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, and other writers of note poured forth a copious flood of puissant ideas in unprecedented diction. I cannot refrain from mentioning here that there had been absolutely no Bengali prose prior to the advent of the British, and that a translation of the Bible into the vernacular by William Carey was the first experiment in this sphere, though, in spite of many revisions, its barbarous and grotesque language excites a guffaw of sardonic laughter among the educated Hindus. But let not my remark be taken as a disparagement of Carey. His name has a place in Bengali literature as the first Bengali prose-writer. And it was, beyond doubt, his pure Christian zeal which made him undertake such a stupendous task. Needless to say, Bengali literature, as a whole, abundantly illustrates the domination of European ideas and Rabindranath Tagore, who obtained the Nobel Prize, was a consummate fruit of Western culture. In fact, there would be no Bankim, Modhusudan and Rabindranath without the magic touch of the English language. As English prose and poetry arose out of Attic Greek and Ciceronian Latin, so Bengali literature was the direct offspring of the language of Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Mill, Macaulay, Scott, Ruskin, Carlyle and others. Sanskrit supplied the vocabulary, but the pattern was entirely European. Sanskrit prose is an ill-developed literary phenomenon, and Sanskrit poetry does not display such noteworthy variety of ideas as English does. Yet the study of Sanskrit deserves every encouragement. Be that as it may, the indirect results of Christian influence showed themselves in a sudden enrichment of the Hindu mind, and the Hindu possesses a highly susceptible faculty. But it is the direct consequences which claim my attention.

It must be admitted that Christianity threw Hinduism on the alert. And, when Alexander Duff embarked upon his educational activities, no small solicitude was evinced by the orthodox citizens of Calcutta. Such uneasiness of mind stiffened into active opposition, but Duff found a valiant supporter in the Raja Rammohun Roy. Indeed, the solicitude shown by the Hindu public of Bengal over the security of

Hinduism manifested itself in different parts of the country, and conversion by Dr. Duff of high-caste Hindu youth was looked upon with grave apprehensions. The leading members of the Hindu society girded up their loins to combat the new spiritual foe, and the valley of dry bones betrayed symptoms of alacrity. The whole phenomenon was an excitement, a psychological perturbation pure and simple. With a vanquished Christianity it would doubtless sink back into its wonted listlessness ; but Christianity persisting it, too, persists.

As days rolled on the Hindus perceived the moral beauties of the Christian faith, and that became the source of fresh anxiety. They perceived that Christianity, quite independently of the sovereign power of the British, possessed a power of its own. The character of Jesus Christ evoked their admiration, and the unimpeachable ethics of the *Sermon on the Mount* seemed a force powerful enough to bring Hindu beliefs into disrepute. How to challenge the silent sway of Christian ethics was the problem that engrossed the orthodox Hindu mind, and momentous shifts of thought and practice were under way. The problem, however, suggested a stratagem.

No one is better conscious of the innate inadequacies of Hindu religion than the Hindu himself. And this sense of inadequacy is only a recent development of the Hindu consciousness. The unsurpassed brightness of Christianity has exposed the ungainly aspects of the Hindu faith. The Hinduism that now sways the Hindu mind is the Hinduism of the Puranic Age—an age which luxuriantly flourished on the decadence of Buddhism. And Puranic Hinduism represents the Hindu thought at its worst. It is a truism that when man makes God in his own image, he makes something worse than himself. It is no guilty misrepresentation to hold that all sorts of puerile, grotesque and immodest ideas have found lodgment in this particular phase of the Hindu religion, and that they have ruled the Hindus for close upon one thousand and five hundred years. The Upanishads which inculcate an exalted theism, though perilously qualified by metaphysical conceptions, have now become quite foreign to the Hindu ways of religious meditation. And let me affirm here that they were never popular at any period of Hindu life. Be that as it may, the moral drawbacks of popular Hinduism have been, in recent years, brought to light more conspicuously than ever, and this is entirely due to Christian influence. The educated Hindu, tenacious of his inherited beliefs, realizes none the less the immense ethical superiority of the Christian faith. And so the Hindu has betaken himself to a novel method of scriptural exegesis. Let me tell what it is.

The Geeta holds the same position in the Hindu world as does the New Testament in Christendom, Krishna being its teacher. And of all Hindu incarnations of God, Krishna is regarded as the highest. Hence the importance of the Geeta. The teaching of the Geeta is said to have been imparted to Arjun, one of the valiant Pandavas, when he refused to fight on beholding his own kinsmen arrayed against him as allies of the Kurus. The Kurus and the Pandavas, though harbouring feelings of deadly enmity against one another, were really cousins. Hence arose Arjun's reluctance to participate in the war. But, as victory

was impossible without Arjun's co-operation, Krishna, a friend of the Pandavas, tried to shake his determination by inordinate philosophical ideas. To this end he asserted that, though the bodies of his opponents might perish, their souls were imperishable. In short, Krishna justified shedding of blood on the ground that body and blood were illusive phenomena and that it was the spirit which endured. He also expatiated on the infamy which, for untold ages, would tarnish his name as a person irresolute and pusillanimous, if he shrank from action. In fact, Krishna extolled war in no uncertain accents, and the consequence was a most sanguinary conflict raging for eighteen days. It ultimately ended with the collapse of Hindu supremacy.

But what is the attitude of some modern Hindus to Krishna's vindication of war in general and of the battle of Kurukshetra in particular? They seek to allegorize the whole event. I must hasten to point out here that allegorization as a literary expedient is unknown to Sanskrit scholars, unaffected by Western ideas. It is only people that have received the higher light of Western culture who feel ashamed of the grosser elements of Hinduism. It is they who seek to allegorize Krishna's *amours* with the milkmaids of Brindaban and also the bellicose doctrine of the Geeta. In spite of the deadly feuds of the European races, every educated Indian is satisfied that Christ cannot be held responsible for them. They are well aware that Jesus Christ never inculcated anything which bore the slightest affinity to violence, whereas the teaching of Krishna frankly encourages militarism. Hence the educated Hindus as a class maintain that the battle of Kurukshetra is a spiritual allegory, that it was never fought with carnal weapons, that it is only a poetic representation of the desperate struggle inextricably blent with man's inner propensities. The average educated Hindu realizes the ethical superiorities of the Christian faith, and he valiantly girds up his loins when his own religion is in risk of being degraded to a lower category. Hence arose the necessity of allegorization. Greek mythology was, in like fashion, allegorized prior to its extinction. No one can tell how long the Hindu ideas of dubious moral value will persist under the extemporized, protection of allegory. Hinduism is cast on the alert by the stainless perfections of Christianity, and Hinduism endeavours to cover its own pitiful incompetence beneath the meretricious disguise of assumed sanctity. This is a direct result of no ordinary significance. For anything tending to interfere with a people's settled habits of thought cannot be a matter of trivial importance. The greatest revolution is that which occasions modifications in the domain of the mind. And Christianity has effected it beyond all dispute.

The next thing which falls within my scope is the considerable stirring caused by the religion of Jesus Christ in the placid current of Hindu life. Such stirring or agitation is evidenced in the various philanthropic works undertaken by modern Hindu institutions. Ancient Hindu institutions, which sprang into life centuries ago, have always preferred a life of peace and quiet. The Hindu monks have very seldom been distinguished by passion for humanitarian activities. Indeed, such passion is not quite in keeping with Hindu thought. But the modern

Hindu monasteries are all intent upon achieving ends favourable to the well-being of human society. The man who in Bengal initiated such notable departure from the traditional ways was Norendra Nath Dutt, later known as Swami Vivekanand. He spent some time in America and returned to India with a heart on fire for unselfish ministration of the poor. And Hindu monasteries, which have been founded during the past fifty years, all bear the characteristic of disinterested devotion to the forlorn cause of the sick and destitute. In times of epidemic or some other dreadful visitation the public fully rely upon the modern Hindu monks for succour and relief. The generality of them are acquainted with the English language, and some are quite learned in Western science and philosophy. The noble works of Christian missionaries ever since the foundation of the British Empire have filled them with an admirable spirit of emulation, and such direct influence of Christian thought upon Hindu life is no ordinary factor in the construction of national character.

India and Pakistan are now virtually independent of Britain. If this cessation of political relationship leads to aloofness from European culture, then is bound to ensue the impoverishment of Indian intellectual life. For Europe, crippled as she is by two wasteful wars, is still the very home of moral and spiritual ideas, and no sensible man can think of its possible disintegration without concern. It cannot be gainsaid that the awakening of India came with the dissemination of European thought, and its gradual disappearance when the British paramountcy will have come to an end would be a misfortune to India. The few British officials who yet remain will quit India by the June of 1948 ; a handful of Europeans who belong to the mercantile community might yet continue to accept India as the scene of their operations. But what of the somewhat numerous body of Christian missionaries who have served India for about two hundred years ? Will they also leave this country ? Will no fresh batches of Christian men and women come out to work in the Lord's Vineyard ? What would the Hindu populations (the Muslims have been but slightly affected by Christianity) think if the European missionaries also, in the course of a few years, become an extinct body in India ? The so-called independent India may not offer them the advantages which the British rule so spontaneously vouchsafed ; but should that be allowed to daunt them ? Should not the entire British people now, with enhanced enthusiasm, be resolved to keep the light of Christianity burning in this benighted country ? Should they not, in total disregard of all advantages, try to render Christianity the dominant spiritual force in India ? Having ceased to be members of the ruling race, they will the better influence the Hindu life should they come as servants of Jesus Christ. Christianity is confronted with a crisis, but the way to grapple with it is not unknown to England. May she rise equal to the occasion, and thereby increase her moral power and prestige is the sincere prayer of every Indian Christian.

THE FILM AND NATIVE CULTURES

By BARBARA GLENCROSS*

THE use of the cinema by the oversea Church is becoming a question of growing importance and interest. That films should have infiltrated with the rest of Western civilization into European colonies was inevitable, just as the adoption of Western dress and, to a large extent, of Western manners, was bound to follow upon European expansion. The problem is not how to keep the cinema out, but how to harness and develop its powers in the service of the Church overseas. The question may be raised—Have we the right to impose upon the primitive races a form of entertainment and of instruction which is the peculiar outcome of our own sophisticated Western culture? There are many who maintain that the cinema is the product of a decadent society reflecting a decadent morality and æsthetic. If our aim is to bring primitives into contact with the best in our civilization, are we justified in introducing what many people consider its most degenerate outcome? The answer is that although the film is the original product of a sophisticated environment, it need not now depend on that environment. In itself the technique of the film is neither good nor bad; it is its use which determines its moral and æsthetic qualities. In any event the film is here to stay, and an organized and critical approach to its use has become of utmost necessity.

One of the greatest powers of the film is the breadth of its appeal. Unlike speech, it depends on what is common to all men irrespective of race, the ability to perceive related images. Movement and the perception of it are universal. A chase on the screen is as easily understood by a Maori as by a West End cinema-goer. It is true that what man sees is largely limited by what he knows, and that a native of Central Africa who has never seen the sea cannot be expected to recognize a ship on the screen. This is where the film can perform an important function. It can, when the material is carefully prepared, enlarge the experience of those whose whole environment has tended to limit it. There are even, we are told, some aspects of the modern Western cinema which appeal immediately to primitive peoples. The genius of Chaplin is one notable example.

As far as actual cinema technique is concerned, considerable modification is necessary before films can be made for primitives. The methods of film production involve certain conventions which sophisticated audiences readily accept, but which to the less civilized, appear confusing. The principle of magnification is bewildering to them. At a showing of a health instruction film on malaria in Africa, an African seeing a gigantic mosquito filling the screen declared he would be terrified to go to England if they had mosquitoes of such a size there!

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Similarly, the effects of "panning" and "trucking" (moving the camera horizontally and running it up to the subject which is being photographed) are difficult to understand; so is the rapid succession of different shots seemingly unrelated. Primitives are not able to make the necessary rapid visual and mental adjustments. Some of the conventions used, however, are within their scope because they are based on natural phenomena—such as the fade-out, based on the coming of night. But when films are being especially made for the primitive mind, these difficulties can be surmounted. A steady level of focus and visual adjustment can be maintained.

In education the film can be a force for greater clarity and economy. It is often more successful to show a picture than to describe in words. But we ought not to give too much heed to those who would use the film as a means of "fundamental education." Education is not instruction: it is a moral concern. If we, as Christians, believe that education is the process of growth of soul and mind together, then to apply to it the epithet "fundamental" is illogical. Growth is a process ending in fruition, in the case of education, in wisdom. Literacy, although it is involved in education, is not its end, nor even its chief stage. Our twentieth-century standards of culture are not of immediate relevance to those whose civilization is only beginning. (The origins of civilization must be not in the alphabet but in the soil.) "With the natives in the colonies and they themselves demand it—we proceed as if not agriculture and handicraft, but reading and writing were the beginnings of civilization."—(*Albert Schweitzer*.) Can the film help in this deeper conception of the aims and principles of education? Undoubtedly it can. Through the medium of the cinema the aboriginal can be made aware of his own cultural heritage and encouraged to develop it. Instructional films on the care of the land and kindred subjects can also be used, but it must be remembered that these are not in themselves educational in the deepest sense.

The presentation of Western civilization as a model to imitate is not the best way of fostering the development of a primitive race. Contemporary European and American culture is now in its degenerate stage; as such its value as a model is greatly to be questioned. The ideal should be the growth of an indigenous culture based as ours was, upon the beliefs of Christendom, but allowed to develop independently of Western influence. As Christians we aim at the Christian society, but when once we have inculcated Christian beliefs the native community ought to be permitted to grow its own society, rather than encouraged to model itself upon a civilization whose roots have decayed. Native folk-lore can be of infinite value in this direction. When once its heathenism has been skilfully Christianized, it can provide a fund of eminently filmable material. But film subject-matter need not be limited to the resources of primitive folk-lore, traditional European stories can also be used, as long as the film makers avoid the sophisticated Western assumptions about life and society. Moral values should always be kept clearly defined and the more obscure moral issues eschewed. The primitive community sees only black or white; it cannot at this stage be expected to appreciate a situation in which varying shades of

grey predominate. Films about Europe, its history, its ancient culture and civilization can be of infinite value for instructional purposes. Films about modern European society are at the best irrelevant, at the worst corrosive.

The function of the cartoon film can be very wide. There is something primitive itself about the crudity of movement, the bold colour and fantasy of the cartoon which makes an immediate appeal to the unsophisticated. Native folk-lore could successfully be animated in this way. But the Disney cartoon itself is a highly sophisticated product of a modern civilization, and its satiric content makes it quite unsuitable for the primitive mind. It is possible that doctrinal teaching could be handled by the cartoon with great success, whereas the usual film could not do so. The story of man and God from its beginnings, through the Fall, Incarnation and Redemption would be an admirable subject for the cartoon. Here is a field with which the nationalistic camera cannot cope without offending delicacy, but the fantasy of the cartoon world is an appropriate milieu in which Christian truths can be propounded. The Old Testament stories can similarly be treated and with equal success.

But if the cinema is to be rooted firmly in the culture on which it is grafted, then it must take its place in the creative life of the race. It is not sufficient for a clever Englishman to make a clever film for the African. At length the whole work of film-making must pass into the hands of the Africans themselves. Writers, technicians, film-musicians, artists must be trained within their own community for that community's service. In this way the film will evolve with the development of the indigenous culture and its finest products will be the products of that culture at its point of ripeness. So that although in the beginning introduced from outside, the film will become an integral part of the life and self-expression of the new Christian community.

It must never be forgotten that education and entertainment cannot be divorced, for the one should involve the other. Just as a well-educated person is able and eager to enjoy good entertainment, so the man who has learnt to entertain himself well is on the way to being educated. To those native communities which are in a more advanced stage the best British, European and American films may profitably be shown. There can be no more danger in showing the cinema's finest fruits than there can be in introducing Mozart or Shaw to a people who are beginning to understand them. But care should be taken that only the best films are introduced, and towards this end a well-informed, critical selection board should replace the negative work of the censor, and only those films should be chosen which have artistic as well as moral integrity. Above all, in this as in all other schemes for the development of primitive societies, we should not lose sight of the Christian end for which we strive, which is to help all men to grow in soul, mind and body into the full stature of Christian personality.

REVIEW

TIME LONGER THAN ROPE. BY EDWARD ROUX. Victor Gollancz Ltd. 18s. net.

This book is a notable contribution to the study of native disabilities in South Africa and of the fight put up by the natives themselves against white discrimination and repression. The larger part tells in detail the story of a long series of episodes in which during the last twenty years and more Mr. Roux himself has taken a most courageous share. It is a depressing story, all the gloomier that the Nationalists' return to power this year inevitably gives more anxious point to his account of the reactionary policy pursued by them and their Labour allies in the "Pact" ministry after 1924. Yet it a little distorts the picture to make it a long catalogue of incidents, for the most part disconnected and rarely having a successful outcome, Mr. Roux himself almost despairs of black South Africans easily recovering such an opportunity of asserting themselves effectively as their comparative unity promised for a moment in the heyday of Kadalie's I.C.U. He makes too little of the cumulative effect of this and other less spectacular demonstrations. On his own showing a great many Africans have proved their capacity for service and leadership in trade unions and otherwise. It is significant that the once all-white Labour Party has split violently on the colour issue and that its more vigorous "left" wing now stands firmly for African rights. Nor is it entirely fortuitous that even the Nationalists, being a little sure of themselves, especially of the security of their poor whites, no longer demand active segregation but are content, for what the milder word may be worth, with apathied separateness.

Mr. Roux at any rate, putting all his faith in "radical" measures, especially paralysing strike action, stands and looks always to the Left. Incidentally he rather lets a cat out of the bag by the evidence he brandishes of the Communist share in almost all the incidents he records. He has, it is true, come to see the mischief of plans made in and directed from Moscow. But his Marxist prejudices still lead him astray, making him much less than fair to pre-Marxist liberals in the Cape and elsewhere. He is as distrustful of missionaries as of British and other imperialists. If, for example, Lovedale was to be mentioned at all, its pioneer educational achievements demanded more than a footnote to the effect that this mission station of the United Free (*sic*) Church of Scotland "trains Natives for the Church and as teachers, farm labourers and domestic servants, gives technical instruction in printing, weaving, etc."

Marxists, and far too many non-Marxists, go wrong on these issues by putting all the trouble down to white prejudice as illustrated by the colour bar. The weakness of the coloured victims makes it necessary to build up, as missionaries and many liberals try to do, as well to fight and pull down. Africans have a long road to travel to reach self-sufficiency and spiritual independence, even in the many parts where the colour bar is an irrelevancy and the future is clearly in their own hands. The brave work of socialist (and communist) night schools here described will not of itself go far without the help of liberals and others with greater faith than Mr. Roux himself shows in his admirably appropriate motto, "Time longer than rope".

W. M. MACMILLAN.